EMMA GOLDMAN BEFORE HER JUDGES

"If giving one's life for the purpose of awakening social consciou
ness in the masses, a consciousness which will impel them to bring quali
nd not quantity in society, be a crime, I am glad to be such a criminal

MOTHER EARTH

Vol. XI. May, 1916 No.

MAY DAY

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THE VOICES OF THE UNBORN

By C. E. S. Wood

YEA, I am guilty, for I have consented.
Oh, the little children who should be the flowers of the Future,
But their eyes are already weary and their lids droop toward oblivion.

When I walk alone and look up into the sky
I do not see the watchful orbs of night,
But only the melancholy eyes of the Unborn
Which stare at me, saying:
"Must we, too, die not knowing joy?"
When I hear the soughing of the winter wind in the leafless trees
It is the voices of little children without childhood;
The sobbing of the brooks which quarrel to their stones
Is to me the sobbing of mothers who curse motherhood;
The hissing of the imperious ocean
Is to me the savagery of men who hate manhood,
And the roar of the tempest is the fury of those
Who will some day shake their fists against God.

—From "The Poet in the Desert."

EMMA GOLDMAN BEFORE THE BAR

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
against
EMMA GOLDMAN
April 20, 1916

The Court of Special Sessions in the Criminal Court Building, New York, was crowded to the doors on the afternoon when Emma Goldman appeared before Judges O'Keefe, Moss and Herbert. Hundreds were prevented from entering the court-room. All sorts and conditions of people could be noted in the crowd—working girls and boys, society women, artists, literary men, doctors, lawyers. Some of the prominent figures were Dr. Charles Andrews, Dr. William J. Robinson, William Sanger, Leonard D. Abbott, Rose and Marie Yuster, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Henri, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Harry Weinberger, Robert Minor, George Bellows, Randall Davey, Miss Jessie Ashley, Bolton Hall, Anna Sloan, Rose Pastor Stokes and Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram.

Emma Goldman found herself face to face with the representatives of the law that she had broken. She had elected to come into court without a lawyer. With rare courage and eloquence she proceeded to plead her case. Albert B. Unger, the young lawyer who had been sent to represent the District Attorney's office, did everything he could to stop and confuse her.

A detective was put on the witness stand and testified that he had listened to her lecture on birth control at the New Star Casino, New York, on February 8th, and that she had explained methods for the prevention of conception. He went into details, which, for reasons that our readers will understand, we are unable to reproduce.

The following then transpired; and here we quote directly from the official stenographer's minutes:

JUSTICE O'KEEFE (Addressing Defendant): Now The People have rested. That is their case. Now the case goes to you. You may make such motions as you may think proper regarding the sufficiency of the evidence adduced, in the direction of a motion for an

acquittal and your discharge at this time. Such a motion as that will be proper.

MISS GOLDMAN: Your Honor, the witness said, among other things, that there were men, women and children, and he emphasized the fact that there were children of the age of three years. Is it likely that children of three years would have been harmed by anything I might say on the platform? He also said that I pointed out in the speech that seventy-five thousand people, women, are killed every year through criminal abortions, and that, rather than to compel them to drive them to that, they ought to use prevention. This seems to me to indicate that the methods of prevention which he took down were merely a sequence of the lecture that preceded them.

Now, Your Honor, you have been very good indeed in giving me my right to express myself here, and, if I may go a little further, I wish to call your attention to the fact that if there were free speech in the City of New York, or in the County, I wouldn't be here this afternoon. There is no free speech there. I hope that there will be free speech in your Court.

Your Honor, I have delivered this lecture in fifty cities in America, always before representative people, among them always Detectives. I was never molested, never interfered with anywheres. I have delivered the identical lecture in English and Yiddish in New York City seven times last year before I delivered it on the eighth of February. Always in the presence of Detectives. For in my case, Your Honor, the Police and Detectives never cease out of the land; they are always at every meeting. They took copious notes; they had the opportunity to arrest me. They never arrested me when I delivered the lecture in English; they evidently waited until I delivered the lecture in Yiddish, when it could be misconstrued, and then perform the arrest.

Now, Your Honor, before, I think, any decision can be taken, if there is justice in the Court, the thing which is back of the commission of the crime ought to be considered. At the present time for the last three weeks every night before packed houses there is a tremendous social indictment being played in the Candler Theatre, called "Justice." The Attorney for the Defense in sum-

ming up for his Defendant, says that, "Back of every crime,—of the commission of every crime, there is palpitating life." Now, what is the palpitating life, Your Honor? That might mean,—take my crime for which I am indicted here. I will tell you what it is. The other day the Department of Health issued——

MR. UNGER: I have no desire unduly to interrupt this Defendant, but The People of the State of New York are interested in only one proposition, and that is, prosecuting for violations of the Indecency Article of the Penal Law. This address of the Defendant is not anywheres in point. I think we ought to cry a halt somewheres. We have no objection to free speech and we have no objection to any propaganda that may be spread decently and in a pure fashion.

JUSTICE HERBERT: You object to the statements of the Defendant as being incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial.

MR. UNGER: Yes, sir. I would suggest the Defendant make a formal motion to dismiss, if The Court pleases. The Court has treated her very kindly and had due regard for all her rights, and the District Attorney is likewise to preserve the rights of every Defendant who comes into this Court.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Of course, you have gone a little bit far afield on your motion. This statement that you now make must be construed as a motion to dismiss. Such a motion is predicated on what is before The Court up to this time. What is before The Court up to this point is the Information filed by the District Attorney and the testimony which has just been adduced.

Your attack must be directed to that Information and to that testimony just given. We have given you, of course, quite some latitude, in view of the fact that you are acting as your own Attorney. We want to give you every opportunity to protect your rights and raise every question that properly may be raised.

MISS GOLDMAN: Your Honor, I haven't any desire to go into an attack, but it seems to me—

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: When I say "attack," I mean to challenge the sufficiency. I mean attacking in a limited sense, as a motion to dismiss might be considered as attacking the sufficiency of the paper.

MISS GOLDMAN: That is exactly what I want to do, Your Honor. I want to challenge the indictment or Information, on the ground that the Information, or rather the Penal Law, the section of the Statute, 1142, refers exclusively to the sale or advertising for sale of such a thing, whereas I am trying to point out, in order to ask you for the dismissal of the indictment,—I am trying to point out that the Information is merely part of a vast movement which is backed on certain social and economic reasons. Surely this is part of a defense, and if, as the District Attorney says, there is free speech, I ought to be entitled to say some thing about it. I merely wanted to point out that according to the bulletin of the Board of Health thirty million people in the United States go through life half fed. What kind of children, does Your Honor think, do these or can these thirty million people bring into the world, if their wage is not sufficient to support themselves and many children? As a result of that, because of their meagre wage and because of the large number of children in each family, three hundred thousand children, Your Honor, are sacrificed every year, who die before the first year of their life. Such a situation then, it seems to me—

MR. UNGER: If The Court please, I regret very much that I must interrupt Miss Goldman, but this Court is not the place for a stump speech. This is not a motion directed toward the evidence in this case. If the Defendant wants to take the Stand and make those statements under oath, then there may be some reason for it, there may be some sense to it, and proper rules of evidence may be applied towards the admission or exclusion of it, but on the argument of motion it does seem to me it is highly improper and simply conducing toward notoriety and nothing else.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Will you try and confine yourself to the sufficiency on the motion, having in mind the section?

MISS GOLDMAN: Well, Your Honor, since I am not entitled, according to the District Attorney, to express my reasons for the birth control agitation and for the thing of which I am indicted, I merely wish to conclude that in propagating the ideas for the enlightenment of

the human race, for the betterment of the condition of children, I am not doing it for personal gain or profit. I am doing it to bring to women the light and knowledge and opportunity to know under what conditions and by what means to bring children who are of quality to the race, instead of quantity, into the world. And therefore, since I have not committed a crime, since I am not gaining anything out of it personally, since it is not a question of dealing with quack ideas and with quack medicines, I move that the Information be dismissed; because I am not guilty of any crime in all of the tremendous movement known as Birth Control and sustained by the greatest men and women the world over. I wish that the motion be granted that the Indictment or Information against me be dismissed.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: The motion is denied, with an Exception to the Defendant.

Now you may testify. The case is with you. You may testify in your own behalf or may call such witnesses in your own behalf as in your judgment may seem proper.

MISS GOLDMAN: What is meant by "testifying myself," Your Honor?

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Going on the Stand and being sworn and telling your side of the case; what happened; just as the witness who had already been sworn. The witness who was sworn testified. He was sworn and he told what took place there. That is testifying.

MISS GOLDMAN: Well, I am willing to go on the Stand.

EMMA GOLDMAN, Defendant, called as a witness in her own behalf, being duly affirmed, testified as follows:—

Direct examination.

By JUSTICE O'KEEFE.

Q.—Where do you live? A.—I live at 20 East One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, Manhattan.

Q.—You are familiar with the charge that is made against you? A.—I am.

Q.—And you have listened to the testimony that has been given by the witness, who was a Policeman, who was just on the Stand? A.—Yes.

Q.—You may make such statement in your own behalf

and by way of defense as you see fit to make. A.—Well, the first statement I wish to make is that there is a vast difference between Yiddish and German, and that I delivered the lecture in Yiddish and that the Officer does not understand Yiddish. He had demonstrated the fact that he does not understand any because he did not understand the Chairman, therefore couldn't have understood me. That is one thing. I furthermore testify that the various things which the Officer swore to are, in the first place, misleading, because they are mis-spelled, they are wrong and would not be used or advised by an intelligent person. I furthermore testify that before we came to what the Officer said, the methods of prevention, I spoke nearly an hour explaining from an educational point of view to men and women of the working class and poorly paid professional class, not, as he said before, men, women and children, but before men and women who were able to take care of themselves, I stated the reason, the purpose and the background of the movement known as Birth Control; so that if the Officer came down there with the deliberate purpose of taking down statements which he heard, it stands to reason that he would take them down as he understood them, not as they were in reality given. Furthermore, I believe that the witness does not know shorthand. How is it that he remembers everything so very well, according to his own testimony? We are not in the habit of remembering everything very clearly. The spoken word is easily forgotten. How is it that he remembers—he could read it off from his manuscript—if he does not know shorthand or knows it only poorly? Furthermore, I wish to testify, Your Honor, if I may, that the cause and reason for propagating Birth Control, is a pressing, imperative necessity. I, as a trained nurse, who have been among people everywhere, know that it is a pressing necessity and that therefore I am not isolated and alone in the propagation of Birth Control. I am backed by hundreds and thousands of men in the medical profession, in the scientific profession, artists, men of letters, women of affairs, who have all come to realize that prevention is better than cure. By that we mean that the conspiracy of silence is driving women, as the witness stated, to abortions, whereas intelligence and enlightenment would save the mothers

and the children of the race. That is all I have to say.

Cross examination.

By MR. UNGER.

Now, Miss Goldman, to break that conspiracy of silence, do you believe it is essential and necessary to use the word ———————— and spell that out in a public gathering? A.—I believe that it is necessary to enlighten the people how to prevent conception.

Q.—Have you ever been convicted of a crime before? A.—Have I? Yes, twenty-three years ago, sir.

Q.—Of what crime? A.—I was supposed to have—

Q.—What crime were you convicted of? A.—I was supposed to have incited to riot, when no riot took place.

By JUSTICE HERBERT.

Q.—Do you deny, madam, that you said the things that the Officer says you did? A.—I deny that I said them in that way and in that manner, yes, sir.

A second detective was put on the stand, and testified that Miss Goldman spoke of different methods which she said would prevent child-birth.

Then Miss Goldman closed her defense as follows:

MISS GOLDMAN: Your Honor, I have been in the great social movement of this City for twenty-six years, as a trained nurse, as a lecturer and as a publisher. During this time I have seen conditions so appalling that the most creative artist could not adequately describe it. I am not going to take up the time of The Court or of Your Honor in going into details. I only want to call your attention to just a few such cases. I have come across a case of a woman who is married to a consumptive husband, who is the mother of eight children and is on the way with the ninth; those children are in the tuberculosis hospital. I have come across another case where the man makes Twelve Dollars a week, the woman is the mother of six children and is on the way with the seventh child. I have, myself, taken care of a case where a woman was the mother of twelve children; she died in confinement with the thirteenth, and the mainstay of the family, the oldest child, is only fourteen years old. These are but a very few cases of our economic

grinding mill, which places a premium upon poverty, and upon the laws which make a conspiracy of silence a virtue. As a result of these conditions, Your Honor, and also because of the demand and the insistence of the people themselves, the great idea to help the people to take care of themselves and bring better children into the world, is the idea which I represent before you and before the world to-day. If that is a crime, I am quite willing to be a criminal. But I call Your Honor's attention that I do not stand alone in that. I have as my illustrious colleagues the greatest men and women all over the world, including even America, and if to teach people how to bring better children into the world so that they shall not become paupers or fill the hospitals or reformatories, or end in crime, if that is considered a crime and an offense, I am willing to stand convicted. I want to call your attention, Your Honor, to the fact that Birth Control is a very important phase of human development. It is one phase in the larger social struggle; or, I would rather say, in the larger social war; not a war for military conquest, not for material supremacy, but a war for a seat at the table of life on the part of the people, the masses who create, who build the world and who have nothing in return. I look upon Birth Control as only one phase of that vast movement, and if I, through my agitation,—through my education, I should rather say,—can indicate a way towards the betterment of that human race, towards a finer quality, children who should have a joyous and glorious childhood, and women who shall have a healthy motherhood, if that is a crime, Your Honor, I am glad and proud to be a Criminal.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Of course, Miss Goldman, you must realize that we are not the law-making body; we are a Judicial body and must interpret the law as we find it.

The Sentence of The Court is that the Defendant pay a fine of One Hundred Dollars, and in default of the payment thereof to stand committed to the Workhouse until said fine be paid, but not exceeding Fifteen (15) days.

MISS GOLDMAN: I'll take the Workhouse, Your Honor.

REFLECTIONS ON EMMA GOLDMAN'S TRIAL

By Leonard D. Abbott

IT IS twenty-three years since Emma Goldman suffered a prison sentence as the result of an impassioned speech she made at a demonstration of striking cloakmakers and of the unemployed in Union Square, New York. Her "crime" at that time was that she quoted the famous maxim of Cardinal Manning, "Necessity knows no law, and the starving man has a natural right to a share of his neighbor's bread," and added: "Ask for work. If they do not give you work, ask for bread. If they do not give you work or bread, then take bread."

On April 20th, 1916, Emma Goldman was again sentenced to prison. This time her offense was that she exposed the evils of indiscriminate and incessant breeding, and that she told the poor, in language they could understand, how they might limit their families.

Both of her imprisonments have been honorable, and both have been but incidents in the heroic crusade against poverty and superstition to which she has devoted her life.

* * *

The appearance of the court-room on the day of the trial was in itself heartening. Five hundred were in attendance. Two hundred gained admittance.

The routine of the court was totally upset by the influx of liberals. It was as if a gust of fresh air had blown into a musty room. Officialdom, as represented by the uniformed attendants, was restive and apprehensive. An effort was made to exclude some of the young women who had gained admittance. A man carrying a bunch of American Beauty roses for Emma Goldman was excluded. There was no room for roses in a court-room. When the judges entered, they knew that it was no ordinary case they were to try. Presiding Judge O'Keefe from the start made efforts to be fair in his rulings; he seemed to be more liberal than the colleagues who flanked him and whose wooden faces were positively depressing. Chief Justice Isaac Franklin Russell came in as a spectator, and watched the proceedings with genuine interest. It would have been interesting to know the *real* thoughts and feelings of the judges. They did not seem particularly proud of the job that they had to do.

The lecture for which Emma Goldman had been arrested had been delivered at the New Star Casino in New York on February 8th. She had given the same lecture in English and in Jewish half a hundred times in cities throughout the country. Two detectives were put on the stand to testify as to what they had heard. They were so ignorant that they had not known how to spell correctly the words of the indictment they had framed in connection with Emma Goldman's arrest, and their testimony was inaccurate. They declared that Emma Goldman had spoken at the New Star Casino in German, whereas she had actually spoken in Yiddish. She could have made more than she did of this error, but she refused to take advantage of technicalities and preferred to keep to the main issue.

There was just one point at which Emma Goldman thought it worth while to take a little excursion into the domain of legal technicality. She maintained that the law under which she had been arrested was aimed at those who made financial profit out of advertising and selling contraceptives, not at humanitarians and social reformers. "The information connected with this movement," she said, "is not for personal gain or profit, but for the education of the working and professional classes who, harassed by economic conditions, by the high cost of living, by the terrible congestion of our large cities, cannot decently provide for a large brood of children, as a result of which their children are born weak, are ill cared for and ill nourished."

A dramatic moment came when Emma Goldman spoke of John Galsworthy's drama, "Justice," now running in New York, and pointed out that behind every so-called "crime" is "palpitating life." She wished to explain to the judges the nature of the "palpitating life" that had impelled her in her own conflict with the law. But Life is the one thing that Law is often most afraid of, and her speech at this point was rudely cut short.

Another dramatic moment came when she said that if it constituted a crime to contend for happier childhood and healthier motherhood, she was glad and proud to be a criminal. The crowd in the court-room burst into applause. Excited attendants strove to quell the clamor.

This spontaneous demonstration recalled the cheers and hand-clapping that had heartened William Sanger on his way to jail last September.

"I have committed no offense," continued Emma Goldman. "I have simply given to the poorer women in my audiences information that any wealthy woman can obtain secretly from her physician, who does not fear prosecution. I have offered them advice as to how to escape the burden of large families without resorting to illegal operations."

The judges seemed to be in a quandary. Their three heads came together for a long conference. Finally, Judge O'Keefe cleared his throat and announced: "We find you guilty as charged." He added: "The judgment of this court is that you pay $100 fine or serve fifteen days in the workhouse." Emma Goldman promptly replied: "I will take the workhouse." The words were hardly out of her mouth before she was seized by an attendant and hurried toward the pen. Many of her friends waved their hands as she was being rushed along, and some stuck their fingers through the wire grating of the pen runway. She tried to reach them in farewell as she passed. Her face was alight with enthusiasm.

* * *

Immediately following the sentence, the District Attorney's office handed to the press the following statement: "This office has no fault to find with the expression of any honest opinion given in a decent manner. The gravamen of the charge in this case is not the discussion of birth control, *per se*, but the indecency of the manner in which the subject was presented to a promiscuous audience, in which children of tender years were permitted to be present."

All this is but an effort to distract attention from the real issue. Emma Goldman's lecture was no more "indecent" than nature itself is "indecent." She discussed sexual facts frankly and clearly, as her subject required, and in doing so she helped to break down sex superstition and to enlarge human knowledge.

In serving her fifteen days imprisonment in Queen's County Jail on a charge of having educated the masses in a knowledge of the importance of birth control, Emma Goldman has had a quiet mind and a serene faith. She

knows that the future will vindicate her—that she is already vindicated in the minds of intelligent and liberty-loving people. She takes her place with the intellectual pioneers who in all ages have been willing to sacrifice themselves in order that truth might be advanced. She takes her place with the path-blazers of the birth control movement in England and America—with Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, with William Sanger and Margaret Sanger, men and women who have never been unwilling to go to prison or to endure any other suffering that the cause demanded.

"PINCHED"

BY BEN. L. REITMAN, M.D.

WE were sitting in the office, on April 27th, discussing Emma Goldman's case, when a mild-looking man came in and said: "Doctor, could I talk to you for a moment alone?" We went to the rear room and he showed me a paper which read: "You are charged with violating section 1142 of the penal code. On Sunday night, April 23rd, at an Emma Goldman protest meeting you discussed Birth Control methods (read the indictment of Emma Goldman) and you caused to be distributed to everybody in the hall a pamphlet giving methods."

We walked leisurely over to the Fourth District Detective Headquarters and a bondsman put up $500 bail for me. I was only absent from the office 40 minutes.

On April 28th I appeared in court before Judge Deuel to answer the charge of giving information about Birth Control. The Assistant District Attorney, a clerk of the court and several police asked if I wouldn't do them a personal favor and give them a pamphlet. I tried to make a speech, but I was lucky, for the Judge wouldn't let me. However, I succeeded in questioning Sergeant McGee, who accompanied Detective Giery, and in bringing out the fact that I did not distribute the pamphlet myself, but that I called for volunteers who would be willing to distribute pamphlets, and about a dozen people from the audience came up and passed out the pamphlet, although I had first warned them that they were liable to arrest. The Judge bound me over to Special Sessions

under $500 bail, and my case will come up sometime within the next two weeks. I am going to try and have the case postponed until I return from my California tour, for although I need a course in diet and work, I do not propose if I can help it to allow anything to interfere with the pleasure our California comrades have in seeing me sell literature.

There is only one bad feature in connection with the arrest of agitators, labor leaders, etc., and that is, that the rank and file and the sympathizers must pay the bill. We propagandists never do any work outside of the movement and the only money we have is that which comes in through MOTHER EARTH, and so far we have never been able to pay our expenses.

As far as possible, we avoid having lawyers, but the business of protecting yourself from the clutches of the law is one of the most expensive pleasures I know of. MOTHER EARTH readers have so generously responded to Emma Goldman's appeal that I hesitate to even suggest another appeal. But if our friends believe in Birth Control and are anxious to encourage people to use direct action, a contribution to the Birth Control Defense Fund will come in very handy at this time. Send your contributions to Leonard D. Abbott, Secretary of the Birth Control Committee, 20 East 125th Street.

P. S.—If the authorities think that we are going like lambs to the slaughter they are mistaken. We believe in Birth Control—yes, believe in it enough to go to jail, and to the gallows, if necessary. But we also believe in DIRECT ACTION and the right to resist tyranny and invasion, and if we are not permitted to carry on Birth Control propaganda in the open we will do as the Russian revolutionists did and "The Blood" of it shall be upon the heads of those who drive us to action.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

DECENCY and Morality are saved once more, because Emma Goldman has been sentenced to fifteen days imprisonment for propagating birth control.

She dared to lift the veil of darkness from certain terrible social and economic indecencies, which form the very foundation of present society, and which the penal code was drawn up to protect and uphold.

The courts hold that to discuss and to pillar these indecencies of society is a very indecent act, and the laws demand that a dignified, *i. e.*, a hypocritical, silence should be kept up in regard to them.

Emerson wrote: "Foolish legislation is a rope of sand which perishes in the twisting." It does not, for if it did, humanity would not be laden down like a beast of burden with hundreds of foolish, fossilized, dead laws. These laws pretend to express real conditions, whereas in reality they express only the tyranny, exploitation and greed of the privileged minorities. And they are enforced by a lifeless but powerful machinery that commits outrage after outrage against reason, good sense, and human happiness, being responsible "only to God," that means to nobody.

These ruling minorities represented by the courts are opposed to birth control and indeed they have good reason for such opposition.

They live in wealth and power by the toil of the masses. They need masses, and what is more, they need masses which fiercely compete amongst themselves in the humiliating struggle for bread. When the sign, "No hands wanted," is posted on the factory doors and at the same time thousands of workers clamor for jobs, ready to work for starvation wages,—that is the time when the "national industries" are most prosperous and exultant.

This is the reason why, in spite of filthy, crowded tenement districts, of slums with poisonous atmosphere, of unemployment, of growing numbers of paupers, prostitutes, criminals, beggars, insane, "large families" are propagated. The larger the wretched crowds that prostrate themselves before the masters, the lower the wages and the higher the dividends.

For this "moral reason" the women of the people are

obliged by law to give birth to as many children as possible. And look, what fair advantage the mothers themselves derive from that blessed opportunity! If they have luck they may send the girls and boys to the factories, when they are only a little over ten years old.

The mothers of the great nation exhaust and cripple themselves by excessive childbirth, and the little ones by going to the factory as early as possible, helping the wretched fathers to support the family!

One marvels at the leniency and tenderness of a court that sentences a gross offender against such an ideal society to only 15 days imprisonment.

Emma Goldman disturbed this social idyll severely when she advised the poor women of the East Side to first look at their own wretched condition and life of drudgery before condemning more and more children to a life of the same kind. Besides, there are other features of the case which cause Society and Morality to tremble.

The governments also need masses, large families, for their ever increasing armies full of trained murderers. How could they be able to lay waste whole countries, to scientifically kill and cripple millions of healthy men, if women would not do their "moral duty" by increasing the population?

To sum up, the courts, prisons, police, and the politicians are in dire need of the blessings of large families. Their very existence is based upon the misery of the masses. Judges and prison wardens would have to close up shop if misery had to go or would be decreased considerably. And please, from whom should the police and politicians collect their graft if the armies of prostitutes, procurers, petty gamblers and humbugs of all sorts would cease to exist? After all that, who can doubt any longer that comrade Emma Goldman attacked the very citadel of respectability when she advocated birth control?

Meanwhile we send our greetings to her, care of Queen's County Jail, and soon the authorities will find out that all their educational endeavors are wasted on Emma Goldman.

* * *

THE first day of May—meant to be the festival of the revolutionary proletarian Internationale—finds the working people of Europe on the battlefields.

They do not fight for their own freedom, for their own rights, for universal brotherhood,—they kill one another under the flags of the governments, under the banners of plutocracy.

Also in this United States ambitious politicians and money grabbers are ready to drive the people into the same bloody arena. They are very eager to do it soon. Any pretext will do for them, especially for the politicians, who in view of the presidential elections try to overreach one another in patriotic bravado.

To catch one man, Villa, an army had to invade Mexico. The same Villa was the pet of the government at Washington and of Wall Street not long ago. He was then the same "bandit" as now.

The army of the United States cuts a sorry and ridiculous figure in this expedition. Villa was not caught, but some civilians on both sides were killed. The military policy of the United States proved more efficient against the cattle of the Mexican ranches than against Villa. Many cows and oxen had to be slaughtered by the United States troops to get something to eat. The efficiency of the Central Government and the military department, supposed at least to be able to provide the army with food, proved a mere bluff. But there seem to be patriots enough who rejoice over this fact, because it gives them an opportunity to shout that "we"—the politicians, speculators, munition manufacturers—must have a much stronger army, must be much better prepared for the bloody game.

The leading newspapers print fierce articles against German militarism, contending that it must be destroyed. At the same time, read their lamentable accounts of the weakness of the United States army and you will find that German militarism is the ideal, the model after which they want to shape American militarism. They fight Germany every day and in the same breath envy and try to copy the German methods.

The puzzle is, what do the people think about the situation? They seem to have abandoned all initiative, all original thinking, and drowsily leave everything to the politicians, lobbies, and newspapers.

The only hope we can hold out for this May Day is

that the people of all countries will finally cease to be driven cattle, that they will assert their rights, initiative, and energy, showing the "Rulers of the World" of every rotten brand that, after all, brotherhood and solidarity have not become altogether spiteful, empty by-words.

* * *

IN the midst of this Republic rules and thrives a monarchical institution, invested with arbitrary power. It exhibits the characteristics of the "Star Chamber" of old renown and its name is the United States Post Office.

It has recently laid its hands on "The Blast," published by Alexander Berkman in San Francisco. Nos. 9 and 10 of the publication were suppressed and barred from second class mail delivery on the ground that articles on Birth Control and one under the title "Villa or Wilson—Which is the Bandit?" did not meet with the approval of the institution.

However, in this case the authorities seemed to have been at least polite enough to state their special reason for their high-handed action. In another case, that of "The Revolt," published in New York, they did not even do that. "The Revolt" was simply suppressed on general principles.

The two following communications received by the publishers of "Revolt" show how easily such a stunt is pulled off:

March 16, 1916.

Publishers of "Revolt",
63 East 107th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Copies of the issues of "Revolt" numbered respectively Volume 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were submitted to the Department for instructions as to the mailability thereof, and the Solicitor for the Post Office Department advises this office that the publication is unmailable under section 211 of the Criminal Code as amended by the Act of March 4, 1911. You are accordingly informed that copies of the issues mentioned are unmailable.

Very respectfully,

E. M. MORGAN, Postmaster.

THOS. J. MURPHY, Assistant Postmaster.

March 22, 1916.

Publishers of "Revolt",
63 East 107th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

You are hereby notified that, in accordance with information from the Solicitor for the Post Office Department, the publication entitled "Revolt", edition of March 11, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 8, is unmailable under section 211 of the Criminal Code, as amended by the Act of March 4, 1911.

Very respectfully,
E. M. MORGAN, Postmaster.
THOS. J. MURPHY, Assistant Postmaster.

To gain the respect and approval of the United States Post Office for a publication, all that is necessary is to print rubbish and fake news. This course will also win the patronage of the big advertisers.

* * *

THE Mexican Revolution, which started to get rid of bloody despots and big land grabbers, threatens to degenerate into a quarrel between political factions and speculator groups.

The imbecile hunt for the one man, Villa, came in handy for the recognized and not recognized would-be dictators of Mexico. It gives them an opportunity to enlarge in big phrases on "politics" and "national dignity," thereby making the cry of millions of peons for Land and Liberty inaudible.

While this game is being played, the real friends of the Mexican people are held in American jails.

The brothers Magon, Ricardo and Enrique Flores, are still imprisoned in Los Angeles. It has been impossible so far to get the $10,000 bail for them.

At the same time the United States Post Office autocracy tries to kill "Regeneracion," the publication of the Magons, which has done great work in enlightening the people in regard to the real issue and purpose of the Revolution. But that of course is just the thing the authorities do not like. Men like the Magons, who spend years of their lives in prison for the cause of freedom and prefer poverty to success, are not favorites of any government.

But they should be loved and helped by those who profess to love liberty and understand solidarity. Money for the defense of the comrades Magon is needed. Send as

much and as soon as you can. Address contributions to P. D. Noel,, Financial Secretary, 621 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.

* * *

ON April 22nd, Oscar Neebe, one of the victims of the Haymarket trial of 1887, died in Chicago. He was sentenced to 15 years in the penitentiary, and remained in the Joliet penitentiary until 1893, when Gov. Altgeld liberated him and also Samuel Fielden and Michel Schwab, whose death sentences had been changed to life-time.

Oscar Neebe was the only one of the eight defendants who was not sentenced to death. All the evidence against him consisted in this, that he had organized a trade union, and that a revolver and a red flag had been found in his house.

Neebe acted courageously before court. He addressed Judge Gary in these words: "There is not the slightest evidence that I had anything to do with the bomb throwing, nor even is it proven that I was near the Haymarket. I have nothing to regret but this, that I shall not be hanged with my comrades. Let me be hanged, too. It is better to be killed at one stroke than to die by inches."

* * *

FAITHFULLY and with due respect the big dailies recently chronicled the important fact that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has again commenced to teach his Bible Class, after he had abstained from this noble diversion for more than a year.

A slight indisposition, following the massacres at the Ludlow mining camps, may have been responsible for the interruption.

"I want to ask you a serious question," Mr. Rockefeller said. "What place has Jesus Christ in your life? Usually He is only a frequent stranger. Our attitude too often is to turn to God as a last resort.

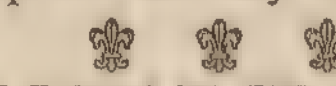
"There is another class of people who only admit God into their lives on Sundays, and when they walk out of church they leave God behind. Some even let God walk home with them on Sundays and invite Him into their homes for the day, but on the morrow He is ushered out.

"Some think life is like a layer cake. A layer of

ability, some jelly, then a layer of character and then a layer of religion. This does not admit God into a man's full life. It is only a small part of his life.

"Religion ought to be applied to our every day life. It is something more than mere going to church. It is something that is practical to our every day life. It is something to live, not to dream about."

From this it seems safe to conclude that the Rockefellers live right next door to the Lord. Things have somewhat changed. In former times God was with the strongest battalions; now he is found hand in glove with the biggest monopolies, to whom he ocasionally lends a helping hand to keep the unruly mob in submission.



EMMA GOLDMAN IN WASHINGTON

By ANNA W.

AFTER spending a year in Washington it was easy for me to see that its inmates were woefully fat and flabby intellectually. It was readily discernable that the stench from the local law factory was asphixiating the majority of the community. Naturally, it was with joy that a small group of radicals hailed the proposition of Emma Goldman's working in Washington.

She came, but not before several of our slumberers awakened by the remarkable news, became panicky and flustered over the proposed "insult" and threatened to boycott her. Emma Goldman, however, turned out to be a veritable human magnet. She lectured and the people came to listen—those who had threatened and those who had not. They came from every corner of Washington. There were all sorts, Socialists, Single-taxers, spiritualists, religionists and the common garden variety of government clerk. We had the most successful course of propaganda lectures Washington has ever seen. With the completion of this first extended course there were many who felt they had not yet had their fill of Miss Goldman's enlightening and exhilarating messages. Two hundred people subscribed to a series of lectures on the Modern Drama.

There were, however, those who did not share with us our enthusiasm over the phenomenal success of the meetings. A spiritualistic organization which used the same

hall in which Emma Goldman lectured, for the purpose of importing messages from beyond the grave, feared that the intellectual vibrations of the anarchist's meeting would interfere with the receiving apparatus of their medium. They brought pressure to bear on the hall-keepers and the hall was denied for any further Emma Goldman meetings. This turned out to be a blessing in disguise, for a more spacious and better ventilated hall was secured in the residential district, from which were drawn new, large, and varied audiences. Unlike most of the other radical meetings held in the business section, invariably patronized by the same devoted groups of Socialists and Single-taxers, our meetings attracted people who had never before been seen at radical gatherings. For instance, one night the Y. W. C. A. seemed to turn out in full force, and throughout the entire course young ladies and their teachers from local seminaries and finishing schools were in prominence. When one considers the straight-lacing process through which the young girl's mind passes at these types of "educational institutions" he will well rejoice that these unfortunate, middle-class young ladies, doomed for "society" with all its hollowness and hypocrisy, were given a glimpse of pulsating, real life.

In discussing the Modern Drama Emma Goldman treats it from a point of view not taken by the average professional dramatic critic. She pays little or no attention to the technique of the play, wastes no time splitting hairs about minor points of dramatic polish. She goes to the heart of the drama, searching for the social significance. To her no work is of importance unless it reveals a vital problem, one that confronts society at large, and it is these problems she is constantly emphasizing and helping to eradicate. No wonder then that her choice of writers includes such men as Ibsen, Strindberg, Sudermann, Hauptmann, Brieux, Shaw and Tolstoi.

At the close of the first drama course the people, like Oliver Twist, asked for "more." This fact speaks for itself. The drama lectures were extended to include the Irish, Spanish and Yiddish dramas, and a propaganda lecture was arranged for the day following each drama talk.

There is no doubt that Emma Goldman's appreciation and interpretation of the Modern Drama are keen and powerful, for she reaches the profundity of each work, possessing as she does the gift of dispersing with masterful strokes the haziness created by intricate detail of plot, and pointing out the universality of the big message behind it all. But her wonderful and unique personality best manifests itself not in interpretation or criticism of the works of others, but in her own, original contributions to modern radical thought, expressing a forceful arraignment of the pernicious influence of our economic, moral and religious institutions.

We saw the social student, the sympathizer and true friend of the socially ostracised, in Emma Goldman, through her lecture on the Intermediate Sex. Further, we beheld in her the daring spirit of the propagandist pioneer. In the face of strenuous general opposition to the discussion of a subject long enshrouded in mystery and persistently tabooed by all other public speakers, Emma Goldman delivered a most illuminating lecture on homo-sexuality. A dignified, tense and eager audience crowded the hall to its fullest capacity. The frankness and celerity with which they questioned and discussed were evidences of the genuine and deep interest her treatment of the subject had aroused. I do not hesitate to declare that every person who came to that lecture possessing contempt and disgust for homo-sexualists and who upheld the attitude of the authorities that those given to this particular form of sex expression should be hounded down and persecuted, went away with a broad and sympathetic understanding of the question and a conviction that in matters of personal life, freedom should reign.

"Nietzsche and the German Kaiser" attracted a heterogenous audience of pro-Allies, pro-Germans and philosophical neutrals. In her masterful and convincing way the speaker dispelled the fantastic illusion exploited by pedantic journalists that Nietzsche's philosophy of the Superman and the Will to Power were responsible for Prussian imperialism and militarism. Through a lucid explanation of Nietzsche's philosophy and by appropriate quotations, the essence of his ideal was shown to be absolutely incompatible with commercial and militaristic

aspirations, being the striving for the development of the intellectual and emotional genius, and certainly not the extension of the bloody and brutal power of capitalism.

A trustworthy indication of the interest awakened in social topics and the Modern Drama during these courses of lectures lies in the unusually large quantities of literature which have been sold.

* * * * * *

Washington to me one year ago seemed an asylum for the smug, over-contented government clerks who repulsed all effort at revolutionary agitation with a shrug of the shoulder and protestations that no social problems existed for them. Placidity still predominates; the law factory is still working overtime on preparedness bills and the like, the churches still wax fat, but the germ of thought has been inoculated in the minds of the thousands who heard Emma Goldman. The meetings are evidencing more and more conscientious and basic thought on social problems.

Thanks to Emma Goldman, Washington is losing its stultifying provincialism and assuming the essential characteristics of cosmopolitanism—vitality and radicalism of thought.

THE FREE SPEECH AND BIRTH CONTROL DINNER

By Robert Morris

THE banquet given to Emma Goldman at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, on April 19th, the eve of her trial, was remarkable for many reasons. It had been arranged within the space of three days, yet more than two hundred responded. Anarchism was represented by Harry Kelly; Socialism, by Rose Pastor Stokes; Single-Tax, by Whidden Graham. Literature had for its spokesmen John Cowper Powys and Alexander Harvey. Artists turned out in force: Henri, Bellows, Randall Davey, John Sloan, Robert Minor, Boardman Robinson. Several doctors, among them Dr. A. L. Goldwater and Dr. B. Liber, were present. The genial toastmaster of

the evening, John Francis Tucker, combined the different elements with rare tact and diplomacy.

Alexander Harvey, associate editor of *Current Opinion*, made the first speech of the evening. He can best be described as a fantastic conservative. He spoke to the theme, "The Free Speech Myth," and he pointed out, very wittily, that the alleged American devotion to free press and free speech was not to be taken seriously. In France and in some of the Latin countries, he said, there was a real belief in freedom; in America there was not. He thought that Americans were temperamentally averse to abstract ideas, and he pointed out that the Americans who now give tone to our dominant thought and institutions are Anglo-Saxons and descended from conservative middle-class stock. Mr. Harvey confessed to a certain intellectual admiration for radical ideals, but he felt that radicals attempting to function in America were doomed to futility.

John Cowper Powys, in a charming speech which was in part a reply to Mr. Harvey, recalled to his hearers that one of the greatest libertarian thinkers of all time, John Milton, was an Anglo-Saxon, and that his essay, the "Areopagitica," was a charter of free speech. Mr. Powys said that he was appalled by the depth of his own ignorance in relation to the subject of birth control, but, in a general way, he wished to be counted as one in sympathy with the birth control movement and with its champion Emma Goldman. He declared that he was impressed by the intelligence and by the representative character of his audience, including, as it did, men of art and men of science. "When art and science combine," he said, "the cause is invincible." This was the first time that Mr. Powys had ever spoken in company with Anarchists. He seemed to enjoy the experience.

The most dramatic moment of the evening was furnished by Rose Pastor Stokes' illustration of the meaning of "direct action." This came as a surprise to all present. Mrs. Stokes, when called upon to speak, introduced her subject as follows: "What is good for the uptown gander is certainly good for the downtown goose. It makes no difference whether birth control is practiced on Fifth Avenue or Hester Street. I'm not criti

cizing the eminently respectable; they're not to blame for being respectable; they were brought up that way." The speaker went on to say that she had come prepared to give out information on birth control. "I'm not bidding for arrest," she said, "but I want to do what Emma Goldman did. My being married and now having a social standing makes a difference, in a way. I want to give out to some women in this, a public audience, the information that I possess." Cheers and applause greeted this statement. "It's really nothing," Mrs. Stokes continued; "I am not the only one. There are many other women who are doing this very thing. The courts found it was best to quash the indictment against Margaret Sanger, and it may be that they'll quash the indictment against Emma Goldman. At any rate, we know that the courts will have a bigger fight than they ever had before." At this point, Mrs. Stokes stepped from her place at the table, and handed out birth control leaflets to the women nearest her. Her act was greeted by a tumult of applause.

Emma Goldman, who spoke last of all, prefaced her remarks by saying: "My speech is not to be made here; it is going to be made in court to-morrow." She went on to voice her conflicting emotions as she faced what she felt sure would be a prison sentence. The idea of imprisonment had no terrors for her, she said; fear of imprisonment had left the radical movement in America pale and weak. At the same time, she conceded, every human being, and especially every human being of libertarian character, was bound to chafe under the authoritarian regime of a prison that treated living personalities like inanimate objects. She spoke in this connection of the haunting impression that Galsworthy's prison drama, "Justice," had left upon her.

Passing on to a consideration of the birth control movement and of her efforts to explain it to the masses of the people, Emma Goldman said that she regretted nothing that she had done, and that she would continue to push the propaganda, inside of prison or out of it. At the conclusion of her address, she held a kind of informal reception. The spirit of the evening was high and heroic.

A PROTEST OF FORTY SAN FRANCISCO WOMEN

Addressed to Judge O'Keefe, of the Court of Special Sessions,
New York City.

SIR:

We, the undersigned women of San Francisco, address you with reference to the case of Emma Goldman, charged with having orally disseminated information relating to methods of Birth Control, and whose case is to come up for trial before your court on April 20th. We want you to understand that we not only endorse the work, method and purpose of Emma Goldman, but that we unequivocally approve her defiance of a law which is inimical to the best interest of society, the law which makes it a "crime" to inform a suffering womanhood how to mitigate its own sufferings and that of its progeny.

No better proof could be had of the backwardness of our present social order than the fact that it is necessary for members of the laity to point out to official mentors the imperative need of spreading Birth Control information. Had judges the vision they should have they would be the ones to stimulate intelligence by opening the avenues to its acquirement. Such a case as this proves that those who decree are woefully lacking in the comprehension essential to improved conditions, better health and a welfare which shall not be streaked with the blotches of short-sightedness. Otherwise they would not be parties to such persecution as has already been instanced in cases appertaining to Birth Control. It should be a source of shame to any judge to know that he constitutes so much as a single impediment in the struggle toward well-being for the human race.

But even though judges, jailers and moralists refuse to see that the world moves on, it is moving and will continue to move in favor of the pinioned many as against the visionless few. Cloaks and rules and antiquated prejudices are not going to hold back the tide of enlightenment which is gradually but certainly disintegrating the crust of ignorance which has kept mankind in pain and subjection throughout the ages. Necessary knowledge is going to be made free, open, accessible to all who

need and desire it. Any and all knowledge which will help the human family to throw off the shroud of its misery is going to be unearthed and freely bestowed, whether or no such procedure meets with the approval of those who are standing in the way of progress.

We call your attention to a recent case in San Francisco where the defendant, Joseph Macario, was charged with giving out Birth Control leaflets containing preventive methods. Judge John J. Sullivan heard the case and after ascertaining that nothing "lewd" or "indecent" was intended in this propaganda, he dismissed the charges against the boy.

In conclusion: We wish to say to you that this is not a one woman affair or a one man affair. The movement of Birth Control bespeaks the interest and intelligence of a growing minority which is determined that the law making it a crime for one to give Birth Control information is wrong and must go. We are perfectly willing you should dispense with this law of your own free will; we are willing that those who hold legal power should rectify an error in the law's making; but if the legal powers will not voluntarily silence a measure which carries destruction on the shoulders of indifference, then we are going to break your law and break it so thoroughly, so completely that the future will find it without form.

We enclose for your information copies of the leaflets on which Joseph Macario was charged, tried and freed and which knowingly and deliberately we send to you as the first move in a campaign which has for its purpose the erasure of a law which denies woman the right to protect her own body and that of her offspring. And we say to you finally that women in sufficient number have made up their minds not to abate their efforts to quash this measure until it has been wiped off the statute books.

We append our signatures on the accompanying page. (Forty signatures of women were secured.)

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN JAIL

BY THE MANAGER

IT SEEMED rather strange to go down to the Commissioner's office and sit around for hours and plead for a pass, and then after much difficulty get one and hurry over to the Queen's County Workhouse and present your pass, and then after the guards had searched you and taken out everything of your pockets to walk up four flights of stairs and have a guard holler "Bring Emma Goldman down."

Our Lady of Sorrows looks about the same. Probably a little more serious and just a little pale. Her blue prison uniform is not at all unbecoming. She has no complaints to make. The jail is fairly clean, the guards and matrons are as decent as their positions will allow. Miss Goldman asked to be allowed a little butter, bread and eggs, but the prison rules prohibited it except on Jewish holidays. It was really pathetic to see one of our comrades, Sophia Parker, take some fruit and food over to Miss Goldman and to come back with the terrible news that the guards would not permit her to take it in.

It is twenty-three years since Emma Goldman was a guest of any municipality, and having been dined and entertained by her friends so often, she is finding it a little difficult to accustom herself to the food and to the surroundings. Last Sunday she said: "This is a strange day. The first free Sunday for months. I rested alright as far as it is possible to rest here, but O, the pathos of a place like this! Have you seen 'Justice,' or perhaps you remember the lines when Folder says, pointing to his body: 'They have not hurt me here,' then pointing to his heart and head: 'But they don't know what they have done to me here and here.' The physical mutilation in prison is bad enough, but the mental and soul destruction is awful. Do you know, I am really glad I took the sentence. I needed to come in touch again with all the human misery."

The Editor is not allowed many visitors. She had four people to see her and will be allowed one more visitor. We expect that she will be released May 4th. I saw her once and she is quite cheerful. She is looking forward to her trip to California with a great deal of pleas-

ure. We expect to open up in Los Angeles on Sunday, June 4th, in Burbank Hall.

Miss Goldman thanks her many friends for the genuine interest and sympathy they have shown for her in the great struggle. Nearly one thousand letters of protest have been sent to the District Attorney and to the Judges. Just how much effect they have had it is difficult to say. Quite a number of people have sent in contributions, all of which will be acknowledged in the June issue of MOTHER EARTH.

The trial has been a very expensive affair, although no lawyer received a fee. Quite a number of lectures were arranged for and had to be cancelled. The hall rent, advertising and printing remained the same. If our friends are interested in E. G. and in MOTHER EARTH, now is the time to show it. If your subscription is due, please renew it, and if you can send us a few subscribers, please do so at once.

Just as soon as Miss Goldman gets out she will answer her mail; in the meantime she thanks her friends and hopes that they will not worry about her.

IS YOUR SUBSCRIPTION DUE?

Now friends, it is so hard to get new subscribers that we are reluctant to take anyone off our list. There are over four hundred subscriptions due. If yours is one of them, won't you please send in your renewal. If you are not sure whether it is due, send it in anyway. With a renewal of MOTHER EARTH, we will send you a copy of Frank Wedekind's great play, "The Awakening of Spring." For $1.50 we will send you Dr. Robinson's book on "The Limitation of Offspring by the Prevention of Conception" or Emma Goldman's book on "The Social Significance of the Modern Drama" and renew your subscription to MOTHER EARTH. For $2.00 we will send MOTHER EARTH to three different addresses. This will be a great help to us and an opportunity for you to spread the propaganda. Be sure and look through our advertising pages. Now is the time for you to help.

WELCOME TO EMMA GOLDMAN AT CARNEGIE HALL, MAY 5th

DEAR FRIEND:

The battle is on. Birth Control is a live issue. People are not only thinking and talking about it, but are determined to act. Fifteen years ago, Moses Harman was sent to jail for three years for advocating Birth Control; a year ago William Sanger was given a month and recently Emma Goldman was sentenced to fifteen days. We are marching towards victory.

On Friday, May 5th, at 8 P. M., we have arranged another Birth Control Mass Meeting at Carnegie Hall, to discuss the subject and to welcome Emma Goldman home from prison. It is significant that we have this meeting on the 5th of May, for it is just twenty-six years since Emma Goldman began her work in New York City.

We have a wonderful program. Max Eastman will be the chairman. A number of prominent doctors, Rose Pastor Stokes, Arturo Giovannitti, Harry Weinberger, Leonard D. Abbott, Theodore Schroeder, Emma Goldman and others will speak. We are also going to have a musical program. We regard this meeting as the most important in the series of Birth Control meetings that have been held during the past year. Please come and do all that you can to pack the hall so we can demonstrate to the authorities and the press that we are really in earnest about the question of Birth Control. If you will do your part we will achieve a victory which will be equal to "the right of labor to organize" and the abolition of negro slavery.

Committee:

ANNA SLOAN
MARIE JENNIE HOWE
ROBERT HENRI
DR. WM. J. ROBINSON
LEONARD D. ABBOTT

DO YOU LIKE EMMA GOLDMAN'S SPEECH?

WE HAVE PRINTED A VERY LARGE EDITION OF THIS ISSUE OF MOTHER EARTH. HELP US BY CIRCULATING COPIES. 25 COPIES FOR ONE DOLLAR, OR $7.00 PER HUNDRED.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURE DATES

We expect to begin a series of Lectures in Los Angeles, at Burbank Hall, on Sunday, June 4th; Lectures every night for the whole month. Details from MOTHER EARTH or Burbank Hall, Los Angeles, California.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of MOTHER EARTH, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1916.

State of New York.

County of New York.

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Ben. L. Reitman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of MOTHER EARTH and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are: Publisher, Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., New York, N. Y.; Editor, Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, Dr. Ben. L. Reitman, 20 E. 125th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: Emma Goldman, 20 E. 125th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

BEN. L. REITMAN, M.D., Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of March, 1916.

(Seal) GEORGE W. BURNHAM ,
Commissioner of Deeds, City of New York.

(My commission expires February 16, 1917.)

BIRTH CONTROL NUMBER

MOTHER EARTH

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